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1991/04/27

0700 CARTER

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INCOMING
TELEGRAM

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ACTION EAP-00

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ACTION OFFICE CM-05

INFO OCT-01 P-01 EX-01 PHO-01 RA-01 UR-01 EAP-01 CONG-01
/016 A3 DTH

INFO LOG-00 ACDA-13 AOS-00 AID-00 AMAD-01 CIAE-00 CPR-02
DOOI-00 DS-00 EB-00 HA-00 IHRE-00 IHR-01 L-03
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 PA-01 PH-00 PRS-01 P-02 SP-00
SSO-00 SS-00 USIE-00 USSS-00 /039V

-----SFACSO 270312Z /21 22

R 270325Z APR 91

FM AMEMBASSY BEIJING
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4716
INFO AMCONSUL GUANGZHOU
AMCONSUL CHENGDU POUCH
ZEMANCONSUL SHENYANG POUCH
AMCONSUL SHANGHAI POUCH
AMCONSUL HONG KONG

CONFIDENTIAL BEIJING 12192

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, CM, OVIP (CARTER, JIMMY)

SUBJECT: FORMER PRESIDENT CARTER'S MEETING WITH QIAN
QICHEN

1. CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: DURING A 30-MINUTE PRE-DINNER MEETING WITH
CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER QIAN QICHEN, FORMER PRESIDENT
JIMMY CARTER, NOTING THE PERSONAL STAKE HE HAD IN U.S.
RELATIONS WITH THE PRC, MADE A STRONG PITCH FOR THE PRC
TO HEAL THE WOUNDS OF TIANANMEN SQUARE SO AS TO PERMIT
SINO-U.S. RELATIONS TO CONTINUE DEVELOPING IN A POSITIVE

DIRECTION. HE ALSO URGED CHINA TO TALK WITH THE DALAI
LAMA ABOUT TIBET. QIAN RESPONDED THAT CHINA WAS NOT
WILLING TO SEE THE ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS BECOME A FACTOR
IN SINO-U.S. RELATIONS, THAT ALL STUDENTS IN THE UNITED
STATES ARE FREE TO RETURN TO CHINA WITHOUT FEAR OF
PERSECUTION, THAT THE DALAI LAMA CAN SPEAK DIRECTLY TO
THE PRC GOVERNMENT THROUGH ESTABLISHED CHANNELS AND THAT
THOSE WHO CRITICIZE CHINA'S HUMAN RIGHTS RECORDS KNOW
VERY LITTLE ABOUT CHINA. END SUMMARY

3. QIAN WELCOMED FORMER PRESIDENT CARTER BY NOTING THIS
WAS THE FORMER PRESIDENT'S THIRD VISIT TO CHINA AND THAT
HE WAS THE ONE WHO HAD NORMALIZED RELATIONS WITH THE
PRC. HE WENT ON TO SAY THERE WERE TWO REASONS THAT
SINO-U.S. RELATIONS HAD BEEN ABLE TO DEVELOP SO
SMOOTHLY: THE 1972 NIXON VISIT AND THE 1975
NORMALIZATION. NOTING THAT NIXON WAS A REPUBLICAN WHILE
CARTER WAS A DEMOCRAT, QIAN SAID HE HOPED BOTH POLITICAL
PARTIES WOULD CONTINUE TO BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT TO
DEVELOP RELATIONS WITH CHINA SO THAT THE RELATIONSHIP
WOULD NOT FALL VICTIM TO PARTISAN POLITICAL DISPUTES.

4. FORMER PRESIDENT CARTER TOLD QIAN THAT DENG XIAOPING
AND HE HAD HAD A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF THE BASIS FOR
DEVELOPING THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP AND THAT OF ALL
THE STEPS THE TWO MEN HAD TAKEN (TRADE AGREEMENTS, MFN,
INSTITUTING PRIVATE AND OFFICIAL EXCHANGES) THE MOST
INTERESTING WAS THAT OF STUDENT EXCHANGES. HE POINTED
OUT THAT WHEN THE MATTER WAS FIRST DISCUSSED, DENG HAD
ASKED WHETHER THE U.S. WOULD ACCEPT 500 CHINESE
STUDENTS. THE FORMER PRESIDENT HAD REPLIED THAT THERE

WOULD BE NO LIMITS IMPOSED. SINCE THEN, THE NUMBER OF
CHINESE STUDENTS IN THE U.S. HAD GROWN TO 50,000. THIS

HAD GREATLY ENHANCED MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE
TWO COUNTRIES. QIAN AGREED THAT THE TWO COUNTRIES'
UNDERSTANDING OF EACH OTHER'S VERY DIFFERENT HISTORICAL
AND CULTURAL BACKGROUNDS AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS HAD BEEN
GREATLY ADVANCED BY SUCH EXCHANGES. HE ADDED THAT SUCH
DIFFERENCES HAD NOT PROVEN ANY OBSTACLE TO THE
NORMALIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS AND THAT THE
STEPS THE U.S. AND PRC HAD TAKEN IN 1972 TOOK INTO
ACCOUNT THE TWO COUNTRIES' SUPREME NATIONAL INTERESTS
WHICH TRANSCENDED SUCH DIFFERENCES.

5. FORMER PRESIDENT CARTER WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE AND
DENG HAD ALWAYS BELIEVED IT IMPORTANT NOT TO REFRAIN
FROM RAISING SENSITIVE ISSUES. FOR HIS PART, HE HAD
RAISED THE ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, ESPECIALLY FREEDOM OF
SPEECH AND RELIGION. HE HAD ASKED DENG TO HAVE FREEDOM
OF RELIGION GUARANTEED IN THE CHINESE CONSTITUTION AND
THIS WAS DONE IN THE SPRING OF 1981. WHEN HE VISITED
SHANGHAI IN THE FALL OF 1981, HE SAW THE CHURCHES IN
SHANGHAI WERE OPERATING WITHOUT RESTRICTION. DENG HAD
IN TURN ASKED SENSITIVE QUESTIONS ABOUT U.S. RELATIONS
WITH VIETNAM, PAKISTAN, THE USSR AND SOUTH KOREA. THE
FORMER PRESIDENT SAID DENG HAD TOLD HIM IN 1979 THAT
CHINA WOULD HAVE TO PUNISH VIETNAM. CARTER HAD ASKED
HIM NOT TO BUT DENG SAID IT WAS BEIJING'S DECISION, NOT
WASHINGTON'S. DENG ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT THE U.S. COULD
OF COURSE EXPRESS ITS OPINION. THE FORMER PRESIDENT
THEN NOTED THAT THE U.S. AND THE PRC WERE COOPERATING ON
CAMBODIA AND HOPED TO SEE THE PROBLEM IN KOREA

RESOLVED.

6. FORMER PRESIDENT CARTER THEN POINTED OUT THAT THE
BIGGEST PROBLEM IN THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WAS JUNE 4
AND ITS AFTERMATH. HE SAID HE HOPED THIS DISTURBING
FACTOR COULD BE RESOLVED. IN REPLY, QIAN NOTED THAT A/S
SCHIFFER HAD VISITED CHINA AND THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT
WROTE A YEARLY REPORT ON HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES IN
CHINA. NOTING THAT THE PRC HAD EXPRESSED ITS OPINION ON
THE REPORTS ISSUED THIS YEAR AND THE YEAR BEFORE, QIAN

SAID CHINA WAS NOT WILLING TO HAVE HUMAN RIGHTS BE AN
ISSUE WHICH WOULD FACTOR IN THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP.
NEVERTHELESS, HE SAID HE WOULD DISCUSS ANY QUESTIONS
FORMER PRESIDENT CARTER CARED TO RAISE AND WOULD GIVE
HIM A COPY OF THE CHINESE CRITICISM OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS
REPORT SHOULD HE SO WISH. QIAN CONTINUED THAT WHILE HE
WAS IN THE U.S. IN 1980, HE MET WITH CONGRESSMEN WHO
WERE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT UNLIKE
FORMER PRESIDENT CARTER -- WHO HAD BEEN TO CHINA AND
EVEN VISITED TIBET -- THEY HAD NEVER BEEN TO CHINA.
QIAN CLAIMED THAT WHILE THESE PEOPLE WERE FULL OF
ENTHUSIASM FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, THEY KNEW VERY LITTLE ABOUT
CHINA.

7. FORMER PRESIDENT CARTER STRESSED THAT HE DID NOT
REPRESENT THE USG, BUT CAME TO CHINA AS SOMEONE WHO HAD
DEVOTED A GREAT DEAL OF TIME TO STRENGTHENING SINO-U.S.
TIES AS WELL AS ONE WHO HAD BEEN A HUMAN RIGHTS LEADER

ON A GLOBAL SCALE. HE NOTED THAT THE CARTER CENTER
DEVOTED EXTENSIVE RESOURCES TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND GAVE A
100,000-DOLLAR PRIZE ANNUALLY TO THE "HUMAN RIGHTS HERO
OF THE YEAR." HE ADDED THAT HE ALSO MEETS WITH HUMAN
RIGHTS LEADERS FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD SUCH AS THE DALAI
LAMA, WHO HAD RECENTLY VISITED PLAINS AND STAYED AT HIS
HOUSE. FOLLOWING THE DALAI LAMA'S VISIT, THE FORMER
PRESIDENT SAID HE MET WITH THE PRC AMBASSADOR TO THE

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U.S. TO TELL HIM WHAT HE HAD LEARNED AND TO ASK HIM TO
ARRANGE MEETINGS BETWEEN THE DALAI LAMA AND THE PRC.

8. IN ADDITION, MANY CHINESE STUDENTS CAME TO THE CARTER CENTER. THEY ALL SAID THEY LOVED CHINA AND WERE LOYAL TO CHINA, BUT WERE CONCERNED ABOUT WHAT MIGHT HAPPEN TO THEM IF THEY RETURNED TO CHINA. CARTER ALSO SAID FANG LIZHI HAD VISITED HIM, SAID HE WANTED TO RETURN TO CHINA TO CONTINUE HIS WORK IN PHYSICS AND WOULD BE A LOYAL CITIZEN. THE FORMER PRESIDENT CONCLUDED THAT HE HAD NO PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF THESE CASES AND UNDERSTOOD CHINESE SENSITIVITIES ABOUT INTERFERENCE IN CHINESE INTERNAL AFFAIRS, BUT HE WANTED TO SEE HEALING IN CHINA, ESPECIALLY REGARDING THE STUDENTS, FOR WHOM HE FELT A CERTAIN RESPONSIBILITY BECAUSE STUDENT EXCHANGES HAD STARTED DURING HIS ADMINISTRATION.

9. QIAN REPLIED THAT THE DALAI LAMA COULD TALK DIRECTLY TO CHINA THROUGH CHANNELS THAT THE PRC HAD ESTABLISHED. CHINA, HE SAID, WAS OPEN TO HIS VIEWS. HE SAID SOME STUDENTS WENT TO THE CARTER CENTER BECAUSE IT WAS KNOWN FOR ITS HUMAN RIGHTS WORK, BUT THEY REPRESENTED A SMALL

MINORITY OF CHINESE STUDENTS CURRENTLY IN THE STATES. ALL 50,000 ARE ELIGIBLE TO RETURN TO SETTLE DOWN, TO SEE THEIR FAMILIES OR ENGAGE IN TOURISM AND SEVERAL THOUSAND HAVE ALREADY DONE SO. QIAN FINISHED BY OBSERVING THAT CARTER DIDN'T KNOW MUCH ABOUT FANG LIZHI BUT THAT AMBASSADOR LILLEY KNEW HIM WELL.

10. FORMER PRESIDENT CARTER TOLD QIAN THAT FANG HAD SAID THERE WERE NO CHARGES AGAINST HIM AND HE HAD COMMITTED NO CRIME. HE ADDED THAT FANG HAD SPECIFICALLY ASKED HIM TO CONVEY TO THE CHINESE AUTHORITIES HIS WISH TO COME HOME.

11. QIAN RESPONDED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD FORMER PRESIDENT CARTER HAD RECENTLY BEEN TO THE SOVIET UNION. CARTER SAID HIS WIFE HAD BEEN THERE TWICE IN 1990 BUT THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN THERE SINCE 1927. HE TOLD QIAN THAT WHEN HE CAME THROUGH CHINA ON HIS WAY TO THE SOVIET UNION IN 1987, DENG XIAOPING HAD ASKED HIM TO CONVEY A MESSAGE TO GORBACHEV ASKING HIM TO GET VIETNAM TO WITHDRAW FROM CAMBODIA, TO PULL ITS OWN TROOPS OUT OF AFGHANISTAN AND TO MAKE A POSITIVE STATEMENT ABOUT THE SINO-SOVIET BORDER PROBLEM. WHEN HE DELIVERED THE MESSAGE, GORBACHEV HAD SAID HE FOUND IT INTERESTING AND HAD TOLD HIM THE THREE PROBLEMS WOULD BE SATISFACTORILY RESOLVED. CARTER NOTED THAT THE PROBLEMS APPEARED TO HAVE INDEED BEEN RESOLVED AND OBSERVED THAT FOR ONE-HALF AN HOUR HE HAD BEEN A CHINESE DIPLOMAT. HE THEN INVITED QIAN TO VISIT HIM IN ATLANTA AND THE TWO PROCEEDED TO DINNER.

12. A COPY OF THIS MESSAGE WAS PROVIDED TO FORMER

PRESIDENT CARTER'S PARTY. HE DID NOT CLEAR THE TEXT.
LILLEY

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